

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

249

ground all round the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes." 215 826

Such is Mr. Howard's very interesting account. In a later chapter on witchcraft, I shall mention clothes-cutting, driving nails into the image of an enemy, and sending other images of enemies to perish at sea as instances of sympathetic magic which actually came under my personal observation. There are other matters connected with this side of the cult which I think well worth a mention and which I got an Ainu man to write out for me many years ago. He wrote thus: 114

"The name for these things is 'ichashkara,' i.e., 'inclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of doing it. Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort and make an image to represent the body. This image is called 'imosh.' When made, a hole should be dug in the earth not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. 754 ●

"The prayer to be used at such a time should be:

"'O demon who art called 'tolpub-un-chiri,' i.e., 'underground bird-demon,' I give this image of the person I hate to thee; take the man's soul and carry it together with his body to hell; turn thou my enemy into one of thy own kind, made him a demon.' If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After having thus buried it, the following prayer should be said: 'O demon, make the body of the person represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let

- 754 his life gradually fade away with it. O demon named *toikunwari tumunichi*, hear me, and quickly take his soul and turn it into one of thy own kind.' If this prayer be said with earnestness, the man will soon die—yea, his body will rot with the tree and he will perish from off the earth."

Another method employed is to make fetishes of the guelder rose and ask it to carry the soul of the enemy to Hell as soon as possible. After this the fetishes should be buried upside down. Further, "should a person wish to bring down evil upon another by means of magic, he should make a boat of rotten wood. When this has been done, he should make images of two men, also of rotten wood, and place them on board. He should then say the following prayer: 'O ye demons, I have made the images of two men, one of whom represents my enemy. Pray take his soul and thrust it into Hell. Take it right away to *Uchiura mechiri*, yea, carry it off to that place.' Should he do so, the man will quickly die. One of the two men is not an enemy but the boatman," or the old Styx ferryman.

My informant also told me that there were some very bad women who would practice magic on their husbands. Thus, for example, should a woman desire to get rid of her husband by death, she may kill him in the following way: "Let her take his head-dress, wrap it in a bag in the shape of a corpse ready prepared for burial, then dig a hole and put it in it. She must then pray thus: 'When this head-dress and bag rot, let my husband also die and rot with them. It is for this I have now buried him. O thou demon *Toikoshimpuk*, by name, hear me. Be quick and take his soul, and make the man into one of thy own kind.' If this prayer be said, her husband will die in a very short time."

Trees also, of some kinds were used for purposes of magic; such, for example, were the elder, poplar, guelder rose and others. When any of them were re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

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SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

251

quired to work against an enemy they were worshipped 754 ●
as follows: "O tree so-and-so, O thou demon tree, I
worship thee now and make my request unto thee.
Listen to what I have to say. There are men persecut-
ing me and I now tell thee their names. Hasten thou
and take away their souls, and make hateful demons
of them like unto thyself."

Such were some methods of magic used by this
very remarkable people.

CHAPTER XXXI

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

The Ainu are a very superstitious race, and the 771
people, one and all, have strong faith in witchcraft.
There can be no mistake about that. The word used
to designate witchcraft in their language is *ishirishina*,
and this means "bind up fast," "tie up tightly." It
indicates a tying up of the spirit, soul, mind or life
of a person with a view to evil and keeping it fast
bound by a curse till the desired object is attained.
It includes hypnotism as one of its processes. But, as
such occult matters are always difficult to explain,
I will allow an Ainu, who was himself once supposed
to be subjected to witchcraft, to give his own account,
while I merely act as his interpreter and translator.

Said he: "As I was lying ill in my bed, a shaman 754●
one day came to me, wishing to perform certain cere-
monies in order to do away with my malady. But, as
I did not believe in him, I would have nothing to do
with him. Now, my clothes had been cut with a pair
of scissors; but, as I supposed it had been done by some
mischievous child, I took no notice of it."

"Then the shaman said to me, 'Why do you allow
this matter of a cut garment to abide? You ought
surely to do something about it.' I simply replied, 'Ah,
why?' for I did not wish to have anything to do with
him. Then he told me that it was the wife of my
elder brother who had done the cutting secretly. And

"To cut holes in another person's garments is supposed to [789]
be one way of shortening his life. It is a branch of sympathetic
magic.

754 this, he said, had taken place through the evil influence of a wicked demon. But as I did not believe him, I took no notice. He then went to my father and said the same to him. My father replied, 'If, by your divination, you are sure that my son has been bewitched, it will be well for you to ask your gods to drive out the demon who acted through her.' And so the shaman performed before his gods. Nevertheless the woman would not make any confession. Rather, she denied and straightway went off to a certain village and fetched her husband.

"When he arrived he said to me, 'Ask the shaman whether this woman really did cut the clothes and so bewitch you.' But as I did not for a moment think she had done so, I said I would not ask him and stayed in bed. After this the woman's brother called me to him and said, 'Your garment has been cut. Is it not a fact that you are in love with some other woman?'

"I was very angry at this and replied, 'Look at me. I am all the time ill in bed. With what woman should I have fallen in love? I believe this cutting to have been done by some thoughtless child or other, and so have taken no notice of it, but the shaman says that a certain woman did it. I quite disbelieve him and so I want to let the matter drop. Why do you come to me after this manner? Let it all rest.'

"After this the woman and her brother turned upon the shaman, who became very angry and said, 'Do you, indeed, deny it? As for me, I am inspired by the gods and know all your evil deeds. It is because you are utterly depraved that you speak to me in this way. Now, as you behave toward me in such a manner, I will punish you in the same way as was done in olden times.' So saying he arose and called out in a loud voice, 'I will put fire into this woman's hand.' I thought he said this to frighten her and so remained quite still. The shaman thereupon actually took hold

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

285

of her hand and placed a live cinder in it. I then told him to stop it, but it was too late; the cinder was already there. The shaman then said, 'If this woman's denial is true and it was not she who cut the clothes, her hand will not be burnt. Watch. But if she did in truth cut it and in this way has wickedly bewitched this man, the cinder will undoubtedly burn her. Let all watch.'

"Then the woman's hand was indeed burnt and she suffered great pain. The shaman, seeing this, immediately called out, 'See here; it is so! She is burnt. Those who do evil are always so affected.'

"All this led to a law suit against the shaman and he was reprimanded by the Japanese judge, imprisoned for one night, and then discharged and cautioned against such practices. When asked by what gods he did such divining, he brought out from his bosom, where he had hidden them, two skulls, one of a fox and the other of an albatross."

Such is my friend's account.

The shaman, as now mentioned, had two skulls with him, one of a fox and the other of an albatross. These were for his use in divination. That of the fox will be mentioned when writing on shamanism and will not be further referred to here. The use of the albatross is quite interesting. It was very extensively taken as medicine when I first visited the Ainu. It was used against stomach-ache. The bill and head were scraped and the shavings swallowed down in hot water. The smell of this stuff is very strong and disagreeable and it is thought that it is the smell itself which works the wonder. And one can hardly be surprised at it. The following legend on the matter will explain.

"The albatross is an object of worship, and the origin of prayer being said to him is as follows: Once upon a time a dreadful disease broke out among the Ainu and many of the people died. At that time there lived an honourable man whose name was Toikirange.

757 I am worse. It would be best to change the doctor, for
 753 I want to get back to my village soon." He also said
 that it was not bitter enough to frighten any demon,
 however small, out of him!

Another one came in and told me his physic was no
 good at all. It was far too sweet to expect it to drive
 the demons out. I went and told his doctor this, and
 got him to make the next bottle as nasty-tasting and
 ill-smelling as he possibly could. He did, and the man
 very soon got well and went home. That doctor was a
 good shaman, indeed, for he soon exorcised the demon.
 Both of these men enhanced the odour and flavour of
 the doctor's medicine by that filthy albatross decoction
 which they made themselves.

754 But the cutting of clothes was not the only way
 of practising witchcraft. One day, as Chief Penri and
 I were walking along a path in the forest, we came to
 a tree, to the stem of which a small image of a man had
 been nailed fast. The chief looked scared and I asked
 him what it was. He told me that someone had an
 enemy he or she wished to die soon, and this was the
 way in which a deed of murder was being secretly
 done. It was put there so that the object of the curse
 might see and know, for this would frighten him and
 make the working the more sure. He would expect to
 sicken and die. It was a clear case of sympathetic
 magic. One of the nails went through the region of
 the heart and the other through the head. The old
 man was certain the spell would work in time. "For,"
 said he, "the demons are very quick to hear curse-
 prayers when said to them."

789 In the same way, too, as we were going down
 754 a river in a dug-out boat we happened upon a very
 tiny boat with the straw image of a man sitting in
 it, being, as it were, rowed by another straw image.
 This also, the chief told me, was a very evil way of
 practising sympathetic magic. This boat was suppos-
 ed to float down the river to the mouth, and then drift

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

200

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very much feared by this people, both men and women worship them on occasion. Not only are they made objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

825 said that "if a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

825 I have never yet been able to find out what snakes have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I came across a case where the worship of a snake and its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. 755 In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification. 783

● 754 But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

2871

out fall bite him. He will watch all the time for an opportunity to kill him." 754 ●

Continuing, my informant mentioned the following incident and said that it showed how snakes really did answer prayer. "Once upon a time two Ainu who had been the objects of a bad man's prayers to a snake were walking along a path when, without the least warning, an adder bit the foot of one of them. The other man therefore took a stick and struck the reptile on the head and killed him. He then heedlessly threw him away among the grass. The man who was bitten, however, did not die at that time; but after a while both men fell ill and died. The fact was that they threw the dead reptile away without first sticking a piece of wood through its head. Had they done so, it would not have killed them. For neglecting to do so, the evil spirit of the snake came out of the body and possessed both of them, so that they died. This was all done in answer to the prayers of a wicked man who asked help from the adder."

One day, as I was on my travels with a good Ainu friend, he pointed on ahead to a woman who was coming our way. He told me to be very careful, for she was a dangerous witch who was herself bewitched by snakes. I found out from him that she kept the image of one carefully put away in her private box in her home, which she at times took out for purposes of divination and witchcraft. Through it she could curse one to death and also foretell future events. By it she could tell the reason of any sickness or trouble and discover remedies for them. Of course, at a price. [756] She was also able to tell what was going on at a distance. She was a wonder to all around and greatly feared. We met her and we had a little conversation together. She appeared to me to be all right, but had a very bright eye and firm mouth. We very soon became friends and remained so till she died. She admitted later that she had tried to influence me by her

- 754 wiles, but somehow I was too much for her. She could by no means get me into her power! I did not even know she was "trying it on."

Ophiolatry was most practised when an addition was being made to a family, but more particularly when any difficulty was being experienced in the matter. What astonished me most was the fact that, although the snake was looked upon as a demon who caused all such troubles, yet he was worshipped and asked to remove them. This was genuine snake-worship and it was the way the Ainu took such bothers to headquarters! The devil caused the troubles, and he was regarded as the one who should take them away. But on these occasions, it was not the real body of the snake which was worshipped, but an image of one, made of sedge (*Carex*). This was called the "divine image." It was set up by the fire and worshipped ardently, and even sometimes placed upon the shoulders of the prospective mother. After this image had been duly used as a means of reaching the real demon snake, the men reverently took it and handed it to a woman, who carried it to the patient and laid it beside her. She would also rub her down with it sometimes. After a little time had elapsed, this same image was taken back to the men, who after having again done worship before it and to it, devoutly carried it to the sacred north-east corner of the hut and placed it beside the household god.

Snakes were also worshipped in cases of being bitten by any of these reptiles. At such times a sedge image of one was set up by the hearth, where *saké* was offered to it and prayers made before it. If the demon heard the prayers, accepted the libations, and wrought a cure, the image was again produced, worshipped, thanked, offered libations and presented with sacred fetishes in the shape of wood shavings. It was then carried outside and placed among the skulls and other offerings and set up there. But if the patient died, the image

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

373

But if the patient died, the image
 was left severely alone or cast away without ceremony ⁷⁵⁴ toward the west, which according to Ainu ideas is the ⁸²³ abode of darkness and the region whence all troubles come.

I asked my friend how it happened that the Ainu ⁸²⁵ called snakes divine, when they acknowledged them to be demons. "Ah," he said, "we only pretend to worship them. We only flatter them and make them imagine we look upon them as gods." These are his words: "Snakes are very quick-tempered, but are easily deceived by adulation. And so it happens that when a child is born, the image of one of those reptiles is made and worshipped by way of flattery. It is not really worshipped, it is all a make-believe. And, should a woman be possessed by a demon snake, she becomes a hardened witch doctor and very dangerous. She will also make images of snakes to worship."

Further; "As regards these creatures:—should a woman see a snake swallowing anything, it means snake possession for her. In such a case the creature must be certainly killed and a stick stuck through its head." One may often come across snake skins in the early summer, left where they have been shed. It is regarded as unlucky to see these, for they bring curses. Should a person see one, he must expectorate and say, [777] "The coward was running away." But if one sees the skeleton of one lying curled up, he must say, "What a brave one! He was not afraid to die by fire."

CHAPTER XXXII

SHAMANISM AND A SHAMAN'S SEANCE

I have met many shamans (wizards), male and female, during my sojourn in Ainu-land. And it appears to me that the more effete the race becomes, the more wizards there are cropping up. They are all inimical to what I have been trying to teach. They are a class who believe in the agency of good and evil spirits, and fancy they can, by the aid of their magic rites and verbal spells, bring good or evil upon people as they will. If any get sick, or die, or the rain fails so that there is a drought, or it rains too much and spoils the garden crops, or there is a flood, or any calamity whatsoever befalls the Ainu, these wizards lay it to the score of large numbers having become Christians, because, they say, by accepting Christianity they have forsaken their old gods and given up some of their ancient customs. And this frightens some people.

One hardly knows what to call the shamans in English. Wizards, witches, medicine-men, sorcerers, magicians, necromancers, all of these combined seem to be comprised in shamanism, and the shamans are certainly devil worshippers. Although the name "shaman" is not used by itself among the Ainu, yet "to perform the acts of shamanism" carries it, for that is called *e-shaman-ki*, i.e. "act the shaman." I believe *shaman* itself means really "heart" or "mind grabber." The present day common term is *tsu-guru*, which means "double-lived one." Why this should be so will appear later.

SHAMANISM AND A SHAMAN'S SEANCE

270

separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing 787
the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower
part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely
arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the
jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the
teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter
was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen
with the teeth upward, she would have been declared
innocent. She was called *akoniwoguru*, and this means
"the person pointed out." But in this instance the
oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later
where the father had most carefully hidden it away
himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at
having found it, for he did not like having his beloved
and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have
played him false. But, like every other one of the lower
divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature,
one part being good and the other evil. And so they
sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people!
Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable 539
Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty- 754 ●
House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty- 776
House-Demons were employed by the people to take
care of their homes and property when they were
away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was
their faith in these creatures, that it was not neces-
sary to lock their homes when away. The present
very fine and typical story shows how careful one
ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being
sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For
even among the devils there are supposed to be good
as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it
may well be remarked that "he who would sup with
the devil must use a long spoon."

The translation now to follow is as literal as may 114
be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be
short. But they are always very much to the point

539 their enchantments it was seen that he felt the influence of their spells so that he drew together much rubbish and covered himself up with a great cloud of dust.*

"It was now the time of sunset. It was growing dark and the ceremonial instruments were set in order.**

"The people then made a lot of tiny fires of fir branches about the floor. The drum sounded loud. The fires were put out. Then the three shamans performed in earnest. The demon also performed in like manner. He put much rubbish over his body and, taking some old torn shoes, held them before him, clapping them together. As the shamans performed, the gods were heard to come flocking over the top of the house. Their coming sounded like the wind blowing. Then was heard a whistling, as of an arrow from the gods as it came in through the smoke hole towards the demon.†

"Whilst the people were looking at him, the demon clapped before his body with the tattered shoes, and fended the arrow off. That god-sent arrow came against him, but he warded it off. The people saw the god-sent arrow sticking in the tattered shoes. 'Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!' roared the demon. 'They have shot the old shoes. Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!' He laughed exceedingly much.

●754 *As the séance proceeds, the shamans intimate to the people what they themselves see; or perhaps I should say, what they wish them to see. The people being now in a state of great expectancy, have become hypnotized and see just as is suggested by the shamans, who now hold them spell-bound. The devil is certainly present, for they can see him with their own eyes, and nothing can persuade them otherwise.

[242
778] **The ceremonial paraphernalia consisted of a drum, a drumstick, a small cap, a wooden wand, some animal and bird skulls, and some fetish shavings.

†The people were in such a completely subconscious state of mind that they would see or hear anything the shamans told them to. These shamans are tremendous spiritists and I have had a world of bother with them at times.

539 snake opened his mouth toward the demon and said,
'Pish! pish!'

"The eyes of the demon opened wide. The eyeballs struck right out from the middle of their sockets. They shone like fire and glared without blinking. Then there came a sword through the smoke-hole and fell upon the creature's neck. The head was severed from the body and rolled and bounded about the floor of the house. At the same time ~~swish~~ came an arrow from the gods and stuck fast in the chest of the demon. His whole body sank like a shadow into the earth and was not. Nothing was to be seen but the bare place where it had entered the ground.

"It was now daybreak. The séance was over. The villagers were now allowed in to examine the house. But they could find nothing more than a little stream of blood running along the end of the sleeping-bench. The devil's body could not be found anywhere.*

"Then the people gave to two of the shamans just the fine due, as if two men had been murdered. To the man whose gods had not been angered they gave the usual shaman's fee as well as the fine due.**

"Thanks to this séance, the people may now go on living serenely. Had it not been for these shamans—

● [754] *No wonder! These new-comers had not been hypnotised. Darkness was gone and daylight had appeared. For this kind of Ainu spiritist séance, darkness is absolutely a necessity. It is my belief that the shamans themselves made the red mark to deceive the people.

[465] **The ordinary shaman's fee consisted of old swords, robes, skins, lacquered vessels and such articles. I knew a female shaman who demonstrated over a sick young man once, and, as he had nothing to pay her with, she bagged all his clothes, even down to a nice new pair of woollen drawers he had lately brought home with him. She told him that the devil who was bothering him resided in these! And that he would die if he wore them again. I sent word to this lady, telling her that I was coming to see her about this. But I could never catch her at home! Could I have caught her, I would also have demonstrated and got them back. And she knew this.

FRESH AND SALT WATER GENII AND GHOULS 393

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikhonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghou. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghou in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

117 sent, as a little lad, and who very kindly helped to pull me out of the contraption, who brought the incident to my mind again, at which we both resumed our laugh begun more than 40 years ago!

787 As I was one day wandering about the outskirts
754 of the village, I met a young Ainu woman who said, with a scared look upon her face and in a hushed voice, as though afraid of being overheard, "O Sir, please do not go near yonder house, for there is great danger there." "But why?" I asked. "Whatever danger can there be in broad daylight like this? Come, tell me all about it." She replied, casting a frightened look about her, "A woman lives there who is said to be possessed by a fox, and she bewitches people." "Oh, indeed," I replied, "possessed by a fox, is she! That is serious, is it not? But how do you know? Is she ill? Have you seen the fox which has got hold of her?" To this she replied, "No; but all say she is possessed. Many people have reported that they have seen a big fox more than once coming out of or entering into her house by the east end window, on moonlight nights. And thus it is proved that she is fox-possessed."

This young lady firmly believed, with others, that the woman could turn herself into a fox or back into a human being at will, and bewitch folks when so inclined. Moreover, it was also thought that she was able to render herself visible or invisible as she pleased. It was really so believed by the young woman who was warning me. I did not contradict her at all, but thanked her and told her I would certainly be very careful. This pleased her and so we parted company.

Later on, I again met this same young woman and gathered some information from her as to her creed with reference to this matter. She told me that such as are possessed by foxes have power to make people ill and so destroy them. Such persons sometimes die

POSSESSION BY FOXES

425

barking "pau, pau," like a fox. Others walk into rivers and get drowned, while some fall over precipices and are killed. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, they sometimes lead people astray. They can also make water look like dry land, and the dry land like water. 787 754 ●

The woman she pointed out to me was, she said, a particularly spiteful one. When she willed it, she was able to leave her body while still asleep, and roam about the village, the head being attached to her by a very thin thread. Moreover, she could also stretch her neck to any distance when wide awake, and send her head out of the window, peep round corners, and thrust her own face right into the faces of others and stare them out of countenance. She could also whisper into their ears and bewitch them. So elastic was her neck and so spiteful her wicked powers! Thus did the young woman talk on, while I wondered and listened. How it comes to be so, I cannot tell, but those who really believe themselves to be fox-possessed are very difficult to get on with, and one never knows when a fit of it is going to come on. The person who gave me this information, was, it struck me, just the one to work up this disease on her own account, for her mind was so much set on the matter and she was so very much afraid of it.

Foxes are not regarded with very high esteem by these people. By some they are said to have had their origin in a demon out of whose ashes they are supposed to have sprung. They are believed to be extremely crafty or wise, and this is possibly why their skulls are used in divination and exorcism. The legend now to follow shows how it came to pass that foxes were made at all, and why it is they are so much like cats. 825

"In very ancient times there lived a certain god upon this earth, who was called Marten. He was not made upon this earth originally, but was sent down from 539 825

CHAPTER LV

ANOTHER FOX STORY

Pau, Pau, Pau sounded a voice not far from the hut in which I was to spend the night with a hunter. We were sitting chatting by the hearth, upon which a nice fire was burning brightly, when the cry suddenly came. A hush at once fell upon all present; even the baby looked up into her mother's face as if scared. "There he is again, the sly, wicked brute!" said the father and master. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it was the bark of a bewitching fox, and he means no good to anyone." All were much cast down in spirit and seemed to have a presentiment of evil to come.

In reciting their legends, the Ainu have a good deal to say about bears and foxes assuming human forms and appearing to people. Bruin usually comes with a good and kindly purpose, but Reynard always sneaks along with evil intent. The fox is supposed to take the shape of a human being sometimes, in order to go to the man's wife or sweet-heart while he is away from home, and either bewitch her by entering into her heart himself, or steal her soul and carry it off, sometimes in his own heart. Or it may be he will assume the shape of a woman and go to her lover or husband while she herself is absent. So the people fear foxes as a rule, and become anxious when they hear one bark at night, as we did that evening.

A fox tells his own story, as follows:

"As I, a little fox, was living quietly in my own house, I heard it noised abroad that the wife of a certain gentleman who resided not far away was famous

539 among both gods and men for her astonishing beauty.
825 This filled me not only with curiosity but also with
● 754 envy. So having, by means of telepathy, put it into
789 the heart of her husband to leave his home for a visit
to a distant place, I made myself an ancient pipe-
holder just like his, to stick in my girdle. I then as-
sumed the form of the woman's husband, arrayed my-
self in garments like his, arranged the pipe and holder
I had made, donned a turban, and so made myself look
like her spouse in every respect. I then sallied forth
from my home and came a short way towards their
house. As I went along, I pulled up two tree stumps,
set them upside down, and made them look like serving-
men. I gave them my bundles to carry and caused
them to walk behind me.

"As we proceeded along the sea-shore and neared
the house, I imitated the gentleman's gait. When I
came to the door, I opened it quietly and entered. On
looking in, I saw a lady sitting by the hearth. She was
the wife. I had never seen her like before, for she
had a most glorious, godlike countenance. She moved
on one side for me and I came and sat down near her.
I occupied the master's place. I was very much moved
in spirit, and, heaving a deep sigh, jumped up and went
out again, much agitated. In confusion of spirit I
knew not what to do. So I walked on halfway to my
own house again, but then I mastered myself and re-
turned to her home. When I had sat down again, I told
her very many lies. She did not look at me particular-
ly, for she thought I was her husband. Yes, although
I saw her smile she did not look at me once even. After
a time she rose up from her place and gave me some
soup. She also fed my men—those men I had brought
with me.

"When all had finished eating, she made up the
beds for the guests. We then retired to our sleeping-
places, she and I together as husband and wife. I

ANOTHER FOX STORY

485

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife⁵³⁹
also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight⁸²⁵
I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her⁷⁵⁴
soul, with which I quickly made off. ⁷⁸⁹

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me.

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"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

539 done, I ran to and fro about my house. There were
825 two openings, through one of which a tongue of fire
● 754 from a burning log leaped out into the yard. Seeing
789 this, I rushed out with it and alighted upon my feet.
Then all at once two great burning sticks of wood fell
upon my body. From that time I knew nothing and all
appears like a bad dream." Thus ends the story as told
by Reynard himself.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.¹ A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,² sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.³ It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

¹ It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

² Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainu*, Vol. I, pp. 239-52.

³ It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called *Chikapipenta-ekashi* *amba Kamui* was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *imau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40-1).—H.W.

IX

EXORCISM

(UEPOTARA)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.¹ Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

¹ The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:

- (a) The work of an evil deity (*toen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
- (b) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
- (c) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
- (d) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
- (e) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
- (f) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

EXORCISM

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification.

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Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

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When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also.

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It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

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Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer

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practised,

VARIOUS RITES

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.¹ Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

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¹ Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.